2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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525 619 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki[x] leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki[x] man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki[x] must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 825] while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 533] He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. [789] He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the [825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes. 525 533 619 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki[x] guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess 619 now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki[x] pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

• [789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki[x] players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki[x] sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are silent. The Kitkahaxki[x] leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki[x] have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki[x] have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxki[x] go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki[x] and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go [578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki[x] side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee 533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these 825 imitations:
536

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575 and select men to make the lance and the rope. Soon other young men joined them and they too had to go through all the preliminaries before they could be strung along the rope. When a new member was initiated, he was strung with the old ones, each member wearing his quiver, bow and arrows over his right shoulder. At first there were but few members and consequently few feathers on the lance. These were attached only to the hook.

[789]

Fig. 9. The Crow Lance. The shaft is wrapped with buffalo skin to which crow feathers are fastened.

They all sang their songs and during a certain time when they were taking young men into their society they imitated an attack upon the enemy. Those who were cowardly usually stood still during these maneuvers because of the chafing rope. Then the proceedings were halted and the cowardly one sent out of the lodge. During their meetings, one day was set aside on which the society paraded through the village.

The lance was tied to a tent pole and set outside of the lodge until the day of the parade through the village. The night before, all the members gathered in the lodge and sang their songs. Then the leader gave each member a portion of the medicine root telling him that it would make him brave. He taught them to chew the medicine root and mix it with the soot and daub it over their bodies, particularly their faces. This medicine was to protect them from bullets and arrows.

Now, everything was in readiness. Early the next morning the members mixed the medicine root and soot, daubing it first on their faces and then their bodies. Then each man placed his quiver over his right shoulder. They stood abreast and the buffalo skin rope was passed through each man's belt. The rope was fastened around the waists of the men at either end of the line. When all their preparations had been completed, they commenced their songs, meanwhile performing various evolutions during which the rope tightened and wound itself around the singers.

Any member who gave signs of discomfort or pain was dismissed, but those who disregarded their suffering remained. After this, they stood in line facing east. Then they marched out of the lodge, the leader stopping at the south side followed by the others all facing east. The lance bearer was about a yard in advance of the others. After singing four songs while standing in this position, they proceeded. They gave no heed to any obstacles in their path. If they happened to come to a mud-lodge they halted and sang until the relatives (aunts) of the men singing would come out and spread buffalo robes under the feet of their kin. They did not move until one of the women came forward and said: "Men move to one side; I will give you dried meat and a pot of corn." Then they would turn aside and continue through the village, stopping only at the lodges of chiefs.

On their return to their own lodge the rope was taken off and they all took their respective places. The leader filled a pipe, lighted it with a live coal and blew smoke four times towards the lance which was staked in front of the singers. Twice he blew smoke downward and twice upward. Then he placed the ashes near the lance and passed his hands up and down over it twice and sat down.

Two assistants then brought in kettles of food and placed them between the entrance and the fireplace. The leader now gave them permission to eat. He rose,

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when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

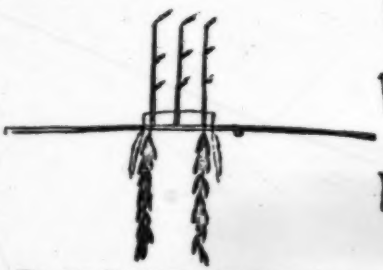

Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

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The Bear Society.

Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

Buffalo Doctors.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

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dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

The Deer Society.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

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756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and [825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

Blood Doctors.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

The Iruska.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also repre- [184] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the [752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

539 Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine 756 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

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were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
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able or willing to confer power, and there are some indications that all those recognized as guardians were related to one or another of the four supernatural beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star. It was believed that every man passed at birth under the influence of some supernatural being. No one knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest himself later in the man's career. He was usually discovered when the man fell sick during childhood. Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man, he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in English. Of these, the curative power was considered by far the most important. The ability to perform feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the medicine man possessed the knowledge which would enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations. By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the will of another to his own and to render his patient passive during ceremonies so that his power could go to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu* power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the individual attacked in this way was helpless until some other medicine man, who understood the power, exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee there was a class of men and women, not true medicine men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

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the report had been made, other men were sent to cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and performing various sleight of hand tricks. The favorite trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

[773] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796 The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in
• 789 the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have
*224 sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

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Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

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• [789]
Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

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Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

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Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

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Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge,

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The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

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One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes.

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsaburuksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden

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in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf, who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army. North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*, "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

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manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu*, "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki*, hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen and all four leaders remained standing at the west.

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsahiks-ti-ki*, "person-he-kills"), who now handed his father the head. With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place.

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors, now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

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witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

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and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he released his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the doctors all sang:

Tatix-kusisari, I am-playing (like a child)
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked 756
the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. 796
Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and 536
then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed 756
"the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery 796
had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north 789
side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and 536
Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

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enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Victory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

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1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia
2.	"	Now it comes flying
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita
		feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

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In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

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for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight-

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ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner. The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

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796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

305 from the fields, June 1, 1861. The woman was found alive, buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left to die. North further states, that having been rescued and nursed back to health by the school teacher, Mrs. Platt, on her return to the tribe, she may have been dispatched with a tomahawk and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. There is no way to verify this incident, but the manner in which the young woman was found by the school teacher indicates the horror the Pawnees felt for a scalped person.

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176-178 Luther North describes (Pauline Bilon, *Nebraska Farmer*, Lincoln, March 21, 1931) the experience he and Grinnell had trying to learn to perform magic. An old medicine man was contacted by his nephew, an educated Indian, on their behalf and he stated that, "Tomorrow morning you get together the young men and I will teach them." The next morning six young men ranging in age from 20-25 were brought to him by the investigators. He picked up a small ax and cut off a little tree. . . . Next he found a large flat stone which he placed in front of him. He took the small sapling and placed the end which he had cut next to the stone. Holding it firmly in place he began reciting in the Indian language, "Father the Great Spirit, you are the ruler; you see me; my mind is poor; I can do nothing without your help, etc. etc. . . . He requested them to hold the sapling. They did so, expecting to pick it right off the stone, but the sapling was firmly rooted into the stone. They pulled but it was no use. Then the medicine man turned to his young Indian pupils. He told them to do exactly what he had done. This they did, following out his previous actions to the letter. Before they knelt to begin their chants, he said to them, "Make your mind strong. Believe what you say." After the young man had finished the ceremony, they released their hold on the small trees. Over fell the trees. The results were the same for all the young men. They all looked at the old man. "I can't teach you anything" he said and walked away. And so once more Grinnell shook his head and said, "It simply cannot be explained." Luther North reports that some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment was a man. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and rubbing his hands together produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there.

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293, 296, 302-304 See Frank North's (1959) description of the Big Dance, Chapter 4.

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